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between the workingmen of Great Britain and other countries.

I may perhaps, therefore, be allowed to lay before your readers the very simple program of the International Brotherhood Alliance. Its short title is "the F. I. G." standing for *Fraternitas Inter Gentes*. The subscription is thirty cents for life membership and a badge. Its regulations are as follows:

1. This Brotherhood is non-political and non-sectarian and is open to men of all nationalities and all shades of opinion.
2. Its object is to band together men of all nationalities in a common organization, to promote friendly feeling between nations, and to discourage all tendencies to mutual jealousy and distrust.
3. The Brotherhood will seek to promote the above object by encouraging personal intercourse and the interchange of visits between members of different nations, by holding public meetings, and by employing all other legitimate means.
4. The affairs of the Brotherhood in each country shall be managed by a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Honorary Secretaries, and a Committee, to be elected at quinquennial general meetings of members in each country. The Committee shall have power to add to their number. The term of office in each case shall be five years, and in the event of the death or resignation of any Officer, the Committee are empowered to fill the vacancy.
5. Local Branches of the Brotherhood may be formed, with power to elect their own Officers and Committees.
6. A General International Council of the Brotherhood shall be formed as soon as two or more National Committees shall have been organized. It shall be composed of a number of delegates to be appointed by the National Committees in proportion to the population of their respective countries.
7. The Local Secretaries shall enroll the names and addresses of members in a book to be especially kept for the purpose, and periodical returns shall be made to the National Secretary, and by him to the General International Council.
8. The only qualification necessary for membership shall be the expression of sympathy with the aim as set forth above.

The pledge runs thus: "I hereby pledge myself to do what I can to promote goodwill and friendly feeling between men of my own country and those of other nations."

Would it not be possible to create a branch of this excellent Brotherhood in Boston, and in this way bring some of the workingmen of the United States over to visit their fellow-workmen of England and France? I should be glad to receive any communication on the subject at the above address. Yours faithfully,

THOMAS BARCLAY.

## The Causes of War.

BY COUNT TAISUKE ITAGAKI.

[This "Open Letter to the President of the Hague Conference," first published by the Japan Peace Society at Tokyo, we are very glad to reprint. It not only serves to show the deep interest which the intelligent minds of the East are taking in the cause of peace, but also reveals the point of view from which the problem presents itself to those who have heretofore suffered much from certain causes of war, well known to all intelligent observers of the colonial policies of the strong powers during the past century.]

*To His Excellency, the President of the Hague Conference, this document is respectfully presented:*

As a citizen of a Far Eastern Empire, my thoughts are always concerned with the problem of international peace. The first World's Peace Conference was called by His Majesty, the Czar of Russia, in 1899, and now the summoning of the second Conference by the same monarch is a cause for unspeakable joy and congratulation. But if it be permitted to make suggestions to wise men

for their further completion, I cannot refrain from saying a few words relative to the coming Peace Conference.

If one desires to stop a stream of water there is nothing better than to go back and stop the fountain. So the question arises, which is better, to remove the causes of international disputes, and thus do away with the woes of war, or, after complications have arisen and hostilities have actually commenced, try to check the cruelties and barbarities of war?

Although the sovereigns and authorities of the great powers, with their scholars and leading men, are working hard for the promotion of peace, the number of international disputes does not lessen, and the people of all nations, fearing the outbreak of war, are never at ease. This is because the fountain of war is not stopped.

There are, I believe, three causes of war: (1) Taking possession of foreign land by force, for the purpose of territorial expansion; (2) refusing other nationalities the privileges of commerce; (3) the exclusion of other races. If we can remove these causes of war, even the most barbarous nations cannot make war upon other countries. By means of mutual intercourse and trade, the inhabitants of the world may come into perpetual joy and happiness.

Since the object of the founding of nations and the principle of mutual intercourse and trade are interdependent, a government opposed to the principle of mutual intercourse and trade is by no means founded upon right principles. And foreign invasion for forcible territorial expansion is born of absolutism and militarism. Since it is the common people who suffer most of the pain of war, war is in most cases the enemy of the people. Therefore, in a country based upon liberality and equality, with provision for free decision of questions by public opinion, peace principles win; while in a country ruled by absolutism and militarism, where the rights and interests of the people are violated and no importance is attached to public opinion, territorial aggressiveness is always strong. The principles of peace and absolutism cannot exist together. The principle of mutual intercourse does not accord with forcible invasion and land-grabbing. I am forced to say that the form of government which depends upon the will of one man, regardless of the peace and happiness of the common people, is most unsuitable to the promotion of international peace.

The same is true of commercial exclusion. This is the age of tariff wars among the powers. The building of high walls and the continual fighting present to our eyes a cruel and horrible sight. As a result of this struggle men do not cease until they have monopolized the markets, trying always to expand their sphere of influence, and annexing other lands to their territory by military force. The proverb "Commerce follows the flag" gives expression to this thought. The monopoly of markets results in raising the tariff rates and prohibiting other people from the privileges of trade, thus in the end destroying international peace. Therefore, if we desire at all to maintain international peace, a world's tariff conference should be opened prior to the International Peace Conference. It is necessary to remove the economic causes of war by allowing such a rate of tariff as is necessary for the protection of national industries, and yet not so unreasonable as to violate the principle of mutual intercourse and trade.

The race question is also a cause of war. Heaven looks upon mankind impartially and makes no distinction of races. So far as the law permits, heaven gives to all men the right to go where they please and to reside in any place having the green earth under their feet and the protecting heavens above. Because of this, people residing in uncivilized lands are protected by extra-territoriality, and in civilized lands by the laws of the countries. Thus they can enjoy life and do their work unmolested. Disregarding this right of mankind, people are led on by racial ill-feeling, and so, working upon the principle of a monopoly of interests, come to persecute and exclude immigrants, thus depriving them of their peace. This is entirely contrary to the principle of mutual intercourse and trade, and cannot be permitted from the viewpoint of humanity. Therefore, if we wish to maintain peace by a treaty of the powers, we should endeavor, by means of an international agreement, to do away with the causes of war which arise from such unlawfulness as the exclusion of other races.

Thus far I have pointed out the causes of international war, and I believe that unless these causes be removed we can never realize international peace. Until international peace be realized the powers are compelled to maintain their armaments even in time of peace, in order to be ready for any emergency. This armed peace increases the burden of the people, forcing them down into dust and ashes.

It is strange that I have not heard of many wise men trying to eradicate the causes of war in a concrete way. To try to settle international disputes after they have arisen; or, after the powers have encountered each other with iron and fire, fearing lest they fall into barbarity and cruelty, to prohibit the use of dum-dum bullets and other cruelties and to make regulations concerning land and sea battles,—that overestimates the particular results, disregarding the great cause.

It goes without saying that the existence of these regulations is much better than nothing, but those who desire peace from the bottom of their hearts can never be satisfied with these things. The limitation of armaments, which is to come up at the coming Peace Conference, is very important. I can but hope that such a regulation will be adopted; but unless the powers radically do away with the causes of war we can never expect the extinction of war. So long as war is allowed to exist it is reasonable that the powers should try to keep up armaments, thus making preparation for war.

Then how shall we do away with the causes of war? The first thing is to summon a council of the powers, in order to endeavor to lead the absolute monarchies to adopt liberal, constitutional governments. As to the tariff question, open an international conference and try to

equalize the tariff rates of different countries. As to the race question, also summon a conference of the powers and try to solve the question in an international way. This, to my mind, is the way to stop the fountain, and thus do away with all subsequent causes of war.

I have maintained these opinions for a long time, and I wish now to present them to His Excellency, the president of the coming Peace Conference. Should even a small part of my suggestions be approved by your Excellency and the judicious members of the Conference, and thus contribute something to the cause of peace, I shall esteem it a great honor.

I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to express my sincere respects to the president of the Conference and to the members who are assembled in behalf of the noble cause of humanity.

TAISUKE ITAGAKI.

Tokyo, May 8, 1907.

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